1: Jenness--45-47 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 172

"The northern party of our expedition had a base at Cape Kellett, and Mr. G.H. Wilkins, the photographer, made one or two journeys along the southern coast of Banks island, of which he furnishes the following account: --

'The first sign of there having been human inhabitants of Banks island was found on the side of the valley near the southwest coast and about thirty miles from Cape Kellett. Here we found a tent ring which had been formed many years ago, for it was almost completely overgrown with moss. Nearby were several small sticks of driftwood which had been hacked by some blunt instrument. Although the camp site looked so old. [sic] the chips of wood were still in a good state of preservation.

As we continued along the coast toward Cape Kellett, we found a number of these camp sites. Some were situated on the side but near the breast of a hill, while others were directly on top. It was generally noticed that those on the side of the hill had some musk oxen horns or bones lying about nearby, and usually in the vicinity one would find semicircular "blinds built" of sods for the most part, but later on in the northern part of the island we found these "blinds" built of stone. (The stones were not available on the southwestern part of the island.) They rarely were higher than nine inches high and I never saw one higher than eighteen inches at the highest part. These were used to hide behind to shoot the musk oxen.

About twenty miles from Cape Kellett and about a mile from the beach I found a

skull very much weather worn and so fragile that it was difficult to handle without it crumpled. It is among the collection of specimens at Banks island together with another which I found seven miles from Cape Kellett. [46] This one was much larger and stronger. Near, too, was found an old whittling knife and a short-bladed knife much rusted. There was a grassy mound of earth nearby, but we could find no further trace of instruments having been left there. At the head of the sand spit which forms Cape Kellett, is a large deserted village of thirty or more houses. They seem to have been built of sod around a frame work of whale bones. Some of the houses are now crumbling away owing to the inroad of the sea, but the majority of them are still intact but very much overgrown with moss and tundra. The earth nearby is very much stained with whale or seal oil, and in the heat of summer there is still an odor of decaying animal matter to be noticed in the vicinity. In winter this attracts a number of foxes that dig in the snow and throw up yellow stained turf, but one cannot see that they get anything to eat for their pains. Because of having to do other work connected with the boats of the Expedition, I was unable to do any digging around here; but there is no doubt that the site is a rich field for anthropologists.

During the course of the expedition I travelled almost the complete circumference of Banks island, crossed overland over the southern section and hunted over the country for many miles inland from nearly all parts of the coast. The ruined village at Cape Kellett was the only one seen, but one could scarcely go twenty-five miles in

any direction without seeing a tent ring or some chips of drift wood, showing that at some time or other it had been a hunting ground of some human race.'

In reading this account we are at once struck by the fact that it was at Cape Kellett that the western natives established a settlement, not at Nelson head; further that there was this one settlement only, for no other ruins were found anywhere else along the coast. The tent rings and the semicircular 'blinds' for hunting seem rather to indicate Copper Eskimos, for we find similar remains in every part of Victoria island and on the mainland around Coronation gulf. Another point to notice is that the inhabitants were essentially whale and seal hunters, and this presupposes the possession of the large skin boats called umiaks. Here we have a basis for a reasonable theory. Whales are very common between the mainland and Banks island, and they have always been hunted [47] by the Cape Bathurst natives. In their large skin boats these Eskimos must often have travelled far out to sea, and known of the great land north of them; so in the days when their communities were still flourishing a colony hived off one summer and established itself at Cape Kellett. No doubt it still kept up a connection with its home country, mainly by boat, perhaps, since to cross the ice by sled directly is probably almost as difficult as from Cape Parry to Nelson head, unless, of course, the season is an exceptional one. It is not unlikely that even by boat the natives usually crossed between Cape Parry and Nelson head, for not only is the distance much shorter, but

both these points are high and conspicuous, whereas Capes Bathurst and Kellett are low and sandy.

How long the settlement lasted and when it died out we have no knowledge, but from the overgrown condition of the ruins it could hardly have been less than a century ago and may have been much longer. The isolation of the place, and the absence, so far as we know, of any similar ruins along the coast, seem to indicate that the rest of Banks island was uninhabited at the time, or at least that the two peoples had no contact with each other. (1). This would explain why the Victoria island natives who now seal round Nelson head have no knowledge of any trade-relations with their neighbours across the strait, although a Kanghiryuak native told Mr. Wilkins that he had followed a bear so far out on the ice that he had seen the land on the other side."

"1. Various considerations, too lengthy to deal with in this volume, incline me to believe that the Copper Eskimos are comparatively recent immigrants into the country that they now occupy."

(1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo

"One would hardly expect then to find in the Copper Eskimo country huts of wood and sod such as dot the coastline everywhere from Alaska to Baillie island. Traces of these, however, are not altogether lacking, for ruins of old wooden houses have been noticed at various places from Cape Lyon to Coronation gulf. There are six or seven on the small islands off Cape Lyon, and six, very old and covered with grass, about fifty yards from the shore between Deas Thompson and De Witt Clinton points, a little east of the Roscoe river. Fourteen similar ruins near the mouth of the Inman river were examined by the Rev. H. Girling, and the implements he recovered from them conclusively prove that the inhabitants of that site were western natives.

These places are outside the limits of the Copper Eskimo country, but there are other ruins of the same type that lie within them. Four or five were found on Chantry island in the spring of 1918, and about the same time seven others were noticed at Cape Krusenstern, and one on an island off Locker point. Mr. W. G. Phillips, the Hudson Bay Company's factor at Fort Bacon (Bernard harbour), tells me that the houses of Cape Krusenstern were built of wood, rock, and a good quantity of whalebone, and that the specimens gathered from them were strange to the Copper Eskimos. In one of the houses there seemed to have been an open fireplace, for the gravel was burnt in one spot and massed together with oil; in each of them there was a well or hole in the middle lined with flat stones. Captain Bernard's discovery of wood and sod houses on south-

west Victoria island has been mentioned in the previous chapter. Almost certainly these dwellings were erected by western natives several generations ago, for the Copper Eskimos build their houses of snow blocks only, and never on any occasion employ wood in their construction."

1: Jenness--57-58 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 172, 341

"The early explorers found stone huts on the islands of the Parry archipelago similar to those that are still used by the natives of Smith sound. (1) Mr. Stefansson discovered one of these huts near the mouth of the Kimiryuak river, but his Copper Eskimo companion was afraid to let him enter it --why I do not know, since other natives have frequently been inside. (2) Captain Bernard found another on Bell island not far from the ruins of the wood and sod houses of the western natives; he excavated the floor to the depth of about a foot, but found nothing but stones and a few seal-bones. Larger than either of these, according to the natives, is a stone hut at Tutukok, near Lady Franklin point. I was not able to examine any of these huts, but visited one on the top of Kikigarnak hill behind Locker point. In shape it resembled a truncated cone, built of flat slabs of dolomite laid roughly one on top of another. Its height was about 6 feet, while the inside diameter diminished gradually from 4 feet 6 inches at the bottom to 2 feet 6 inches at the top. There was a small door facing WSW., 2 feet 6 inches high and 1 foot 6 inches wide, the bottom being raised 1 foot 4 inches above the level of the floor.

"1. See C.R. Markham, p. 169 et. seq."

"2. My Life with the Eskimo, p. 274 et seq., 288; Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 297."

From an architectural point of view the most interesting feature was the use of the cantilever principle in closing the roof. (3) The space to be covered was roughly circular, with a diameter of a little more than two feet. Apparently no single slab to hand was large enough, so the builders used several smaller slabs instead. Two sufficed to cover about half the space on the south side; another was laid over the northern segment, resting on the wall, and the interspace was filled in with two overlapping slabs. Both the roof and the sides had many chinks and openings through which the wind and rain could enter. A rude flooring had been laid with slabs of dolomite, and near the doorway, close to the outer walls, were two stone rings where some Eskimos had evidently set up their tents in shelter from the east wind. About fifteen yards to the northwest was a pillar of seven or eight dolomite slabs laid one on top of another, though with what object it is hard to imagine. Elsewhere,[58] on the summit of the same hill, was another tent-ring, with its hearth-stone close beside it, and a low wind-break of stones from behind which the country north and east could be scanned for several miles.

"3. Cf. Peary. The Secrets of Polar Travel, 1917, pp. 136-7."

Birds and animals had evidently been the latest occupants of the hut for we found their bones scattered both above and below the floor stones. The ground was frozen hard, and I had no time to stay and excavate. It is hardly possible that the structure could ever have been a dwelling, since there was barely room for a man even to squat inside. The natives gave varying accounts of its origin. Some said it was made by white men long ago, possibly Rae's party when it tried in vain to cross the strait to Victoria island. (1) Certainly if it was intended for an observation post looking out on the gulf to the east and south, no better site could have been chosen anywhere. Another version assigned it to the tornrin, the dwarf people who were driven underground by the Copper Eskimos long ago. (2) They were responsible, too, for a curious structure that we found on the plain behind Cape Lambert. It was made of large flat slabs of dolomite set on edge in the shape of a rectangle, about 8 feet long by 4 feet wide, and from 1 foot to 1 foot 6 inches high. It was unlike the remains of a Copper Eskimo camping-site, and may have been due to the western natives. Whether the stone houses

"1. See Richardson, p. 178."

"2. Cf. Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 635; Meddelelser om Grønland, Vol. XXXIX, p. 688 et seq."

should be assigned to the same origin (stone being used because of the lack of driftwood), or whether they belong rather to that earlier people who have left similar remains round Hudson bay and in the Parry archipelago, must be left uncertain until the Copper Eskimo country and the adjacent regions have been more fully explored and we have more information concerning the distribution of these houses. (3)"

"3. The stone huts on Southampton island which were used for meat caches had no doorway, but were opened at the top (Boas, Bulletin IV, A. M. N. H., Vol. XV. p. 475). Captain Bernard tells me, however, that the natives of Adelaide peninsula build huts like those among the Copper Eskimos for trapping foxes. A bait of meat or fish or blubber is laid on the floor, the door closed, and the roof either opened, or closed with a lightly balanced stone that will cave in when the fox steps on it. Once the animal has entered the trap it is unable to escape. I cannot help thinking, however, that this is a secondary use, the structures being originally intended, perhaps, for meat-caches. The doorway would be convenient, but not absolutely essential."

1: Jenness--81-82 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 342, 172

"All over the country the Eskimos have left traces of their camping sites in the shape of rings of stones that have once held down their tents, with the hearth-stones lying a few feet to one side. Early explorers have often noticed [82] these in other regions. (1) There are remains of caches too, heaps of stones that have covered meat or blubber or clothing to protect them from the wolverines and foxes. Near Bernard harbour there were many remains of all these kinds. Some of the rings were very small and may simply have been weights to hold down drying deerskins; others were plainly tent-rings, for there were hearth-stones close beside them. Often not far away were large overturned boulders to which the natives had fastened their dogs. The plans and dimensions of some of those rings are given in Fig. 29."

"1. Cf. McClintock, p. 168, et passim; Parry, Vol. I, p. 70f."

"[AW: Captain Bernard writing. See page 243 of text.] I want to tell you that we did quite a little work in archaeology at Krusenstern. We located the site of three villages, apparently of different age. Two of them were on the gravel bar immediately west of the cape, two or three hundred yards from the beach. The site of the third was on the highest part of the divide where the trail crosses the neck of land inside of the cape. At this latter one we did no excavation. Mr. A.H. Anderson, the man that I brought with me, had stopped at Krusenstern to trap and trade, and did a considerable amount of excavation on the site of the two lower villages, where he succeeded [246] in obtaining an extensive and interesting collection. The floors of these houses were three to four feet below the level of the surroundings. Many men might have tramped over them without suspecting it. In fact it was only after a very careful examination of the surface that we were able to locate the site of the house. I also located the site of two houses on Dead Man island [Inyuernerit, Duke of York archipelago]. They were very old.

'I have also the knowledge of the site of the large village on the Mackenzie river, Victoria island. Mr. Anderson in the summer of 1919 located two houses on one of the Jameson islands. We also saw some excavation on three houses done twenty or thirty miles east of Tree river close to Hepburn island."

"Captain Bernard has made some very important archaeological discoveries which enable us to extend the limit of wood and sod houses to the eastern end of Coronation gulf. The number of ruins that he found would indicate a considerable population, while their great antiquity is shown by the depth at which the floors were submerged below the ground, even after discounting the thickness of the sod roofs that doubtless caved in on top of them. These ruins must certainly be older than some at least of those that dot the coast between Cape Lyon and Cape Krusenstern, and while the latter may still indicate transitory settlements by parties travelling along the coast, as I have suggested in Chapter IV, the former undoubtedly mark the earlier, perhaps the earliest inhabitants of the region of Coronation gulf, and predate, I suspect, the influx of the Copper Eskimo tribes into this area. The evidence cannot be given here, but there are certain facts that seem to indicate that the Copper Eskimos were an inland people until a few centuries ago, and that their culture has changed considerably since their immigration to their present home."

2: Stefansson-19 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 131, 172

"Although they have knowledge of the coast farther west, it is not probable that any of the Copper Eskimo go west beyond Crocker River. We saw signs of ancient occupation in the form of broken sleds and split sticks of driftwood all along the coast, but fresh signs (ones not over three or four years old) we did not find until we reached Point Wise!"

2: Stefansson--224-225 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
172, 117

"April 29. Near Point Pearce. House ruins. Besides the up-ended stones referred to above we found just west of our camp (one hundred yards) a wood pile, probably a grave which seems more recent than the houses on Parry or Langton Bay. Wood scarce just at our camp, so used earth. Billy saw three house ruins at the next point east. I shall look at these tomorrow. [225]

April 30. On examining ruins found by Billy yesterday I found six house sites where he had found three, it was blizzarding then. The houses were apparently about rectangular, though the caving-in has given them a doughnut appearance. Interior dimensions of largest about eight by fifteen feet. There were found only three stubs of sticks sticking up that had apparently been parts of the walls. None stood over a foot above ground. Though none were over four inches in diameter, none were decayed enough to break with a sharp blow with the foot. Six or seven pieces of wood lying aimlessly about, none decayed badly, though lying on sod or moss. All good firewood. These may be more recent, of course, than the houses, the leavings of a summer camp, though no one would probably camp here after the ice goes off, as the boat landing seems bad and there is no wood for fuel, while plenty on the other side of the hill some two hundred yards away. Carrying wood there (plenty on the other side of the hill) would be difficult as it would be over a hill about one hundred fifty feet high; there is no beach around. No rafters seen in the ruins, or other sticks than those

standing up as erect stumps, but these would be under the earth of the roof naturally enough. Fragments of vertebrae of small whale (bowhead or 'inyutok') in walls of one house. Small rocks half the size of a man's head mixed with the earth of what had been walls. Highest portions of 'doughnut rings' left by caving walls and not over eighteen inches, average a foot.

Houses seem somewhat older than the most recent at Flanders Point, Herschel Island, that are known to date back to 1890 only. These here, however, are probably much older. They are on a terrace about thirty feet above sea level and have black rock for a background. They may have been standing though not seen when Richardson passed. He says: 'to the eastward of Cape Parry .... we met with no villages, though solitary winter-houses occur here and there on the coast.' (Searching Exp., Vol. 2, p. 348.) Doors of houses faced the east apparently and some at least had passageways six feet long. Mackenzie River houses are often a good twenty feet. Many things may have escaped me on account of snow covering them."

2: Stefansson--25 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 172

"There is little doubt that there was a continuous chain of habitations prior to say 1830, all the way east along the coast from Langton Bay to Coronation Gulf, and from the character of the archaeological remains, we are inclined to think that these people resembled in culture those of the Baillie Islands more than they did those of Coronation Gulf. However, there seems to have been a feeling at the Baillie Islands that the people east of Langton Bay were not their people, while those of Langton Bay were, and when the changing trade conditions and other reasons broke the continuity of habitation along the coast (about 1840), most of the people of Langton Bay moved west to the Baillie Islands, while some of Langton Bay and apparently all east of them, moved east towards Coronation Gulf if indeed they were not exterminated by some famine consequent upon an untoward season. There were evidently permanent villages as far east, at least, as the mouth of Crocker River, and clearly bowhead whaling was one of the chief occupations. Even beyond Crocker River closer investigation is likely to show the existence of permanent earth and wood dwellings."

2: Stefansson--226 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
172, 117

"May 2. Near Roscoe River. Village Ruin. Pannigabluk, in making a short cut where the sled went farther off shore, came upon a ruined village on a sandspit. She did not count the houses but thinks they were over twenty. There were numerous sticks upright, some the remains of racks. She says the village looked older than that at Flanders Point on Herschel Island. If our camp was yesterday at Roscoe River, then these houses would be about five to eight miles east of it by her account. Driftwood in large quantities at this village site, she says. Saw two or three 'up-ended' stones inland."

"May 3. Traces of People. Traces of people, such as there are, would be very easy to find now if we only had a third man to leave me free to follow the beach while they proceeded off shore. The snow that must have covered many things the first week of May and the last week of April last year is now all gone. Around our present camp have seen no traces of men except one stick that was probably used as a chopping block (by Richardson's party?), axes were very sharp. Cuttings might be anything from six to sixty years old.

June 1. House Ruins. Before supper I took a fruitless walk west along the beach in search of traces of the former inhabitants. After supper I had a look east with better results. Half a mile east of camp is a tiny creek coming from the mountains (or foothills). Our camp is twenty yards east of another such creek. On the west bank of this creek, about fifteen feet above the creek and thirty or forty feet over the sea, is a little, flat-topped shelf of the hill nearest the coast, about one hundred fifty or two [304] hundred yards from the sea. On this shelf is the ruin of a sod-and-wood house of ovoid shape about eight by ten feet, in greatest transverse interior diameters. The greater end of the ovoid is towards the sea, and the door seems to have been in the middle of the seaward gable. There is no evidence of an alleyway of wood and earth such as is frequently in use in the Mackenzie. The main supports of the house have been in western style, the butt ends of small trees, the roots up to serve for crotches. That

the structure cannot have been a cache is shown by the traces of a door, by the root bearing uprights which are now fallen, and by the fact that the walls were clearly partly of split sticks. One of the sticks still upright in the east wall was an adzed board about six inches wide whose end now sticks about two and a half feet up at an angle varying from the vertical about as Eskimo walls usually do, about 15° or 20°. Some of the wall timbers are decayed quite off even with the ground, others are still in fair preservation, difference no doubt due to differing age and sort of timbers originally used. No excavation possible on account of ground being frozen. About ten yards east of the house are a few scattered sticks probably of more recent date. They may however be remains of a work-shelter dating from the days of the house, or more likely, a more recent camp-site. Judging by the ruins of Fort Confidence, making no allowance for difference in climate this house should have a minimum antiquity of over a hundred years.

About three hundred yards west of this house ruin, ten or twelve feet above the sea and fifty yards from the beach are the sites of two or more tents. There are no stone rings, but there are two fireplaces (flat stones now and perhaps originally all lying flat on the ground). There is one small stick by one fireplace that still has the charcoal on the end. There are many unshaped sticks scattered about. This is the interesting part, for the present people to the east never gather sticks about their camps except to dry on meat or fish. The western Eskimo however build windbreaks and smoke shelters

of rough sticks. Date of these sites perhaps fifty or sixty years. Saw also three or more tent sites that would suit well the present eastern style of tent, merely some split sticks laid on the ground to be under the beds and some split rejects from implement making. None of these camps less than fifty years old. Adze and knife shavings have all disappeared from all the sites.

June 3. Buchanan River. Stone Graves. Saw four or more very old stone graves on the rising ground in the delta just east of the most westerly mouth of Buchanan River. Only artifact seen was a piece of a sled runner so rotten that it was in pieces where it lay. It was almost surely a piece of the short, western type sled, piece about eighteen inches long. Both ends missing and parts of side edges, one hole still showed, the sort of hole used for the insertion of cross bars on Mackenzie sleds and not found at present towards Coppermine.

A half mile east of present camp some sticks brought together on bit of rising ground as if to use in camping, and by our camp a stick from which slivers have been split, these latter two not over fifty years old probably.

June 4. Near Roscoe River. I wanted to make our present camp at the old ruined village seen by my sled party May 2nd last year. I spied for it carefully every half mile with the glasses but never saw it. I think it must have been closer than we thought to our bear kill camp. With glasses saw every half mile or so east of Roscoe River some sort of remains, graves, tent sites, or caches. In one place where these were

especially numerous I went ashore to see. There were ten or more (perhaps over twenty, some are hard to distinguish from natural formations) caches, evidently for whole meat. A pit a foot or two in depth had been dug, lined with stones in some cases, in some cases not, and covered with stones and earth. These had evidently been opened again by the owners. The caches are of the type used at Kittegaryuit to rot meat while the owners are there in residence to protect from animals, i.e., not made to keep out strong animals. The pits seem to have been in one case over four by six feet and in most cases about three by four. The only bones seen were those of whales, at least two whales of different sizes, both small. The bones seen were maxillary and vertebrae. No artifacts seen."

11: Stefansson--274-275 (1908-1912) 1913 Copper Eskimo
116, 172, 342

"I was about to pass it within something like twenty yards when I became convinced that it was no single rock, but a pile made by man. I accordingly went up and examined it. The men then admitted that it was a house, but they said it had not been built by human beings and it would be a bad thing to have anything to do with it.... All the information I could get from them about it was that it had been built by the spirits before the human race inhabited the land. I happened to be familiar with the fact that in Baffin Land and elsewhere in the east there were stone dwellings said to have been built by a race of men who were named with a name that differs but slightly from the name for spirit. The name given me here was identical for that used locally for the familiar spirits of the shamans, and on specific inquiry they told me that the spirits who built these houses were identical in kind with those employed by the shamans.

When I asked what the house was like inside, they said first that no man who has any sense ever goes inside; but later on they told me that sometimes foolish children in the absence of their parents would [275] enter such houses in play.... The door, they said, was in the same position that an Eskimo house door ordinarily is. In other words, it was two and a half or three feet high, on the ground level, and just big enough for a man to crawl through it on all fours. The house was dome-shaped inside as well as outside and there were no rafters. They specifically denied that sods, sticks, or anything else but stones appeared in the walls....On the beach here there are any number of flat and

angular pieces of rock, and of these exclusively the house had been built. One could not tell very well about its dimensions because of the mass of snow covering it, but it seemed to be not over seven feet high, and very probably had an oval floor with transverse diameters no greater than five by seven feet."

15: Jenness--540-545 (No date) 1923 Copper Eskimo
116, 172

"THE ANCIENT POPULATION IN CORONATION GULF

The earliest evidence of inhabitants in the present home of the Copper Eskimos, the region around Coronation Gulf, comes from archeological sources. At various places along the coast there have been found graves in the shape of stone cairns and ruins of houses built of wood and covered over with sod. The Copper Eskimos of the present day, like their kinsmen in Hudson Bay, do not cover their dead, but merely leave them on the surface of the ground to the mercy of the elements and beasts of prey; but stone cairns of a similar character to those of Coronation Gulf were discovered by Mr. Stefansson on the fringe of the Mackenzie region around Cape Perry and Langton Bay. Houses of wood covered over with sod are also unknown to [541] the present inhabitants of Coronation Gulf, although in the Mackenzie delta and in Alaska they constituted the normal type of dwelling. Excavation of the ruins revealed the presence of pottery, likewide a western, not an eastern Eskimo product, together with harpoon points and fishhooks that were foreign to the Copper Eskimo culture but quite usual in the Mackenzie delta and in Alaska. We can have no hesitation therefore in ascribing these ancient ruins in the Copper Eskimo country to a tribe or tribes affiliated with the Eskimos dwelling today in the Mackenzie delta. Furthermore, we may be reasonably sure that they actually migrated from the west, for otherwise they would not have used driftwood for their dwellings, driftwood being very scarce in Coronation Gulf.

The date of the ruins can only be conjectured. In one settlement the floors of the houses are said to have been three or four feet below the general level of the terrain, but the turf that covered the walls and roofs would probably account for about two feet of this depth. No precise estimate can be made of the time required for an extra foot or two of soil to accumulate above this, since that would depend on the nature of the vegetation, the position of the ruins, and the watershed of the surrounding country. Judging, however, from similar remains on the north coast of Alaska we should [544] hardly be justified in assigning an age of more than five or six hundred years to the ruins in the Coronation Gulf area.

Besides the undoubtedly western character of these ruins one very significant point must also be noticed. As far as my information goes at present no copper was found within them. Very little copper, if any, has been discovered in similar ruins in the Mackenzie delta and in Alaska. Hence we may reasonably conclude that the use of copper was practically unknown to the Eskimos at this period, at least from Coronation Gulf westwards. The Eskimos of Hudson Bay may have been acquainted with copper through contact with Indian tribes, but there also its absence in archeological remains proves that any such acquaintance must have been very slight and almost negligible.

At Cape Kellett, on Banks Island, there was an ancient settlement where whalebones

were used instead of wood for the framework of the houses. (2) It was evidently an important center for whale hunting, like Cape Bathurst on the mainland opposite. Many whalebones were found also around some of the old wood and sod houses in the Coronation Gulf area, and their inhabitants must have been familiar with the methods of hunting whales. Probably, therefore, they possessed the large open skin boats called umiaks which were usually employed for whaling. The present inhabitants of Coronation Gulf and for some distance east along the coast did not use there boats in historical times, nor is there any evidence to show that they had used them at an earlier period. It is true that they knew of them traditionally, but such traditions may easily have filtered in through trade with either the eastern or the western natives.

The first questions that arise in connection with these ancient settlements are, why did they fall into decay, and what became of their inhabitants? The Eskimos as a race have short memories, and their traditions never carry us very far back into the mists of the past. Consequently the actual historical reasons can never be discovered, although we may conjecture some of the causes. In the first place the whaling pursuit

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"2. See 'The Life of the Copper Eskimos,' Rept. of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, Vol. 12. p. 46."

could never have been very successful in Dolphin and Union Strait and Coronation Gulf, since whales rarely enter these restricted waters. Then, again, wood for the building of houses and of large skin boats is very scarce along the coast. Consequently the old population would soon be forced either to change its western culture or to move elsewhere. A few lean years may have reduced its number, never very great, and forced the survivors either to return west to their earlier home or to push farther eastward, there to be swallowed up in other tribes where the mode of life was different. The few who remained behind in the region around Coronation Gulf must later have merged with the immigrant people who form its present population.

Theoretically one other possibility is open with regard to the fate of these ancient inhabitants. It may be conceived that they slowly altered their mode of life and became the ancestors of the Copper Eskimos of the present [545] day. If this were the case we should expect the modern culture in this region to retain its western character with only such changes as were forced upon it by the environment and by the more or less sporadic intercourse with eastern Eskimos. In this way we might explain perhaps the cessation of whale hunting and the loss of the umiak, together with the change from wood and sod houses to snow huts. Copper, if altogether unknown, may have supplanted stone through some brilliant discovery or through a knowledge gained from the Yellowknife Indians to the southward. But will this theory explain in detail the culture of the Copper Eskimos as it is known today? And can we reasonably interpret this culture as

developing out of the stage represented by the old whale-hunting people and their kinsmen to the westward?"

15: Jenness--546-547 (No date) 1923 Copper Eskimo
116, 172

"Archeology also provides clear evidence of a movement from the eastward into Coronation Gulf. Houses built of stone have never been found among the western Eskimos, although they are numerous throughout the whole of the eastern region from Labrador north to the Parry Archipelago and are still used as dwellings by the Eskimos of Smith Sound in Greenland. Three such houses have already been reported from the Copper Eskimo country, all in the southwestern portion of Victoria Island. Near Cape Krusenstern on the mainland opposite, I myself examined a stone structure which was a little too small indeed for a dwelling but may have been either a meat cache, like the stone piles on Southampton Island in Hudson Bay, or more probably still a fox trap, for which purpose similar structures are erected [547] even today five hundred miles to the eastward on Adelaide Peninsula. This ruin near Cape Krusenstern showed no signs of great antiquity and was certainly much more recent than the wood and sod houses that were discovered later in its vicinity. With the three stone huts on Victoria Island it definitely indicates the settlement of eastern Eskimos in the Coronation Gulf region at a period that cannot date back more than four or five centuries."

I feel certain that they were made for sale, either by Copper Eskimos, or, more probably, by western Eskimos who entered their country after 1914. They correctly reproduce the tangless form of the women's knife still current in Mackenzie Delta and in Alaska, a form that was

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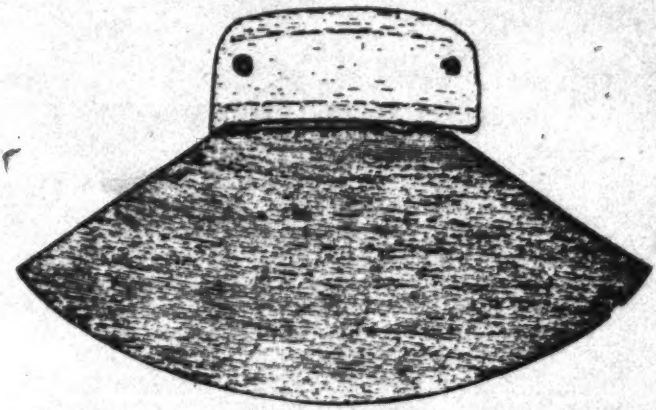

Figure 82. Tangless woman's knife, probably of western Eskimo origin. IV.D.1667. 2/3.

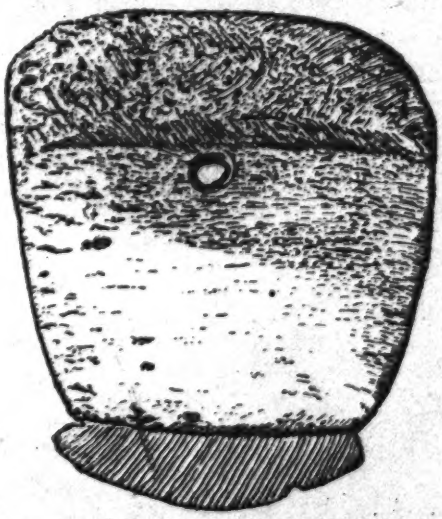

Figure 84. Knife with copper blade, found in old stone house on Victoria Island. IX.D.189. 1/1.

prevalent in prehistoric times in the Copper Eskimo region also, where, in addition to tangless, stone-bladed knives, two copper-bladed ones have been found, one in an old stone house on Victoria Island, the other (Figure 84) in a stone grave on the small Read Island in Dolphin and Union Strait.

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Figure 107. Man's knife, with copper blade. IV.D.1455. Approx. 1/4.

Knives. The oldest Copper Eskimo knives of which there is any record had large copper blades, lanceolate in form and sharp on both edges. Generally the blade had a tang, which was driven into an antler handle without being riveted, but occasionally there was no tang, the blade being set in a slot and secured with a single copper rivet. The handle was sometimes of two pieces, spliced together and riveted with copper or bone pegs, and the butt was a separate piece of bone, or sometimes musk-ox horn, pegged to the handle. A lashing of sealskin or willow root, which began through a hole in the butt and was wrapped around most of the handle, afforded a better grip than the smooth antler; its loose end passed through another hole and was tucked under one or more bights. A short loop of sealskin was often added in the side of the handle so that the knife could be hung on a button of the coat, or attached to a toggle on the bow-case (Figure 107).

An excellent specimen of such a knife, collected by Captain Collinson at Cambridge Bay in 1852, is now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, England. Another specimen, with a rather shorter blade, collected by Lieutenant Singleton, of H.M.S. *Fox*, from an unknown locality, is in the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill, London. Others, collected by either Collinson or his colleague McClure on Victoria Island, are deposited in the British Museum. These are the oldest specimens known to me from the Copper Eskimo region. Hanbury collected several similar knives in 1902 between Ogden Bay and Coppermine River, some of which are also in the British Museum.

Even in the nineteenth century a considerable amount of iron found its way into the Copper Eskimo country and was utilized for knives. Figure 108 shows a knife made from iron secured from McClure's ship, the *Investigator*, which was abandoned on Banks Island in 1851. The blades of these early iron knives correspond as nearly as possible to the copper ones; they were lanceolate, and hammered thin on both sides toward the edges. However, early in the twentieth century, European steel knives began to drift in from the south and southeast, and soon afterwards more knives and a quantity of iron entered the country from Great Bear Lake and from the west. The natives then removed the handles from the European knives and mounted them according to their own fashion; but often they left the shape of the blade intact. Accordingly, one found iron-bladed knives that had one or both edges sharp, or else half the back edge sharp and the other half blunt. These iron blades, also, were generally mounted in a slightly different manner from the old copper knives; their tangs were riveted between plates of iron that were riveted in turn to the antler handles.

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Figure 108. Knife, made of iron from McClure's ship *Investigator*. IV. D.438. 1/2.

412 177 178 [439] By 1914 hardly a single copper-bladed knife remained in the country, except specimens that had been manufactured for sale to the first traders, like those shown in Figure 109. All the Copper Eskimo were using iron knives of various sizes and shapes, some with small blades and long handles, others with long blades and short handles, some single-edged and some two-edged (Figure 110). Specialization in types was beginning. For cutting snow, knives with long handles and long blades were accounted the most useful; for skinning caribou and seals, knives with shorter handles and blades of medium length. Some natives still preferred two-edged knives for skinning, others liked a sharp point, curved back, and a blunt back edge, as in the European hunting knife. Many men made still smaller knives for miscellaneous uses around the camp. A [439] certain number of small knives with copper blades may have been used even in the earliest days,[1] but all such specimens that I have seen, whether of iron or copper, date from the twentieth century, and the copper ones were made to sell to Europeans. Certainly the commonest type of knife in pre-European days, perhaps the only type outside the whittling knife, was the large lanceolate form commonly called the snow knife.

412 • 172 412 325 [129] [321] [412] [439]

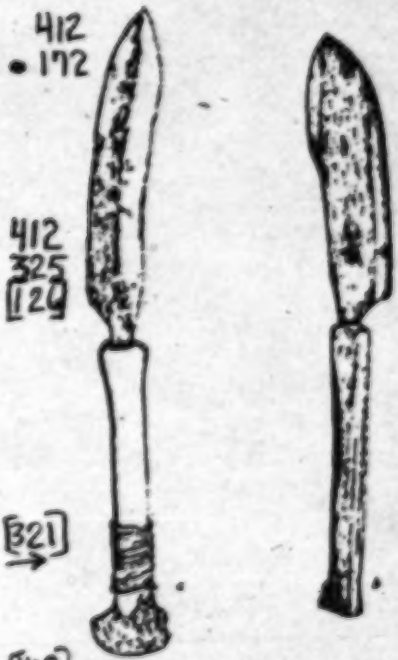

Figure 109. Copper-bladed knives made for sale. a, IV.D.1361, 1/2; b, IV.D.343, approx. 1/2.

The older Thule inhabitants of the region, like those to the west and east, used a large, curved snow knife, nearly always made from whalebone. Figure 112 (IV.D.1660), however, shows a specimen obtained by Capt. J. Bernard in Coronation Gulf that is made from musk-ox horn. The local Eskimo knew its purpose, but had no recollection of ever using such a tool themselves.

Whittling Knives. Typical whittling knives (*hariro.n*) with iron blades are shown in Figure 113. Copper was used for the blade in early times, but I was able to obtain only two examples, one of which is shown in Figure 114. Here, as often with the iron-bladed whittling knives, the handle is perforated half-way along its length for the attachment of the sharpener, which was usually of steel, but in this case a small copper pencil mounted in an antler handle.

Figure 113*a* shows a fairly old specimen with a tiny blade of what seems to be hoop iron; the handle, as usual, is of antler, and the rivet in this case of copper. In the specimen represented in Figure 113*b* the handle has been extended by splicing a short additional piece of antler. The same thing has occurred in the specimen shown in Figure 113*d*, but such extensions were less usual among the Copper Eskimo than among the Eskimo to the west.

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[1] In 1929 Mr. Lincoln Washburn obtained a lanceolate copper knife blade (Figure 111) that had been picked up on Victoria Island. One surface only was covered with a green patina; the other was still coppery, though dulled. Probably the specimen is not of great age.

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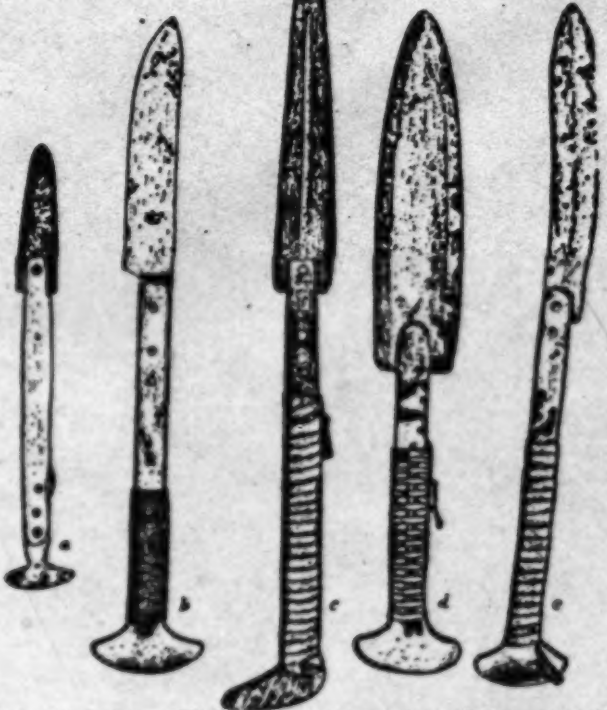

Figure 110. Iron-bladed knives. IV.D.1437, 1439, 1440, 176, 1440. All 1/4 except e which is 1/2.

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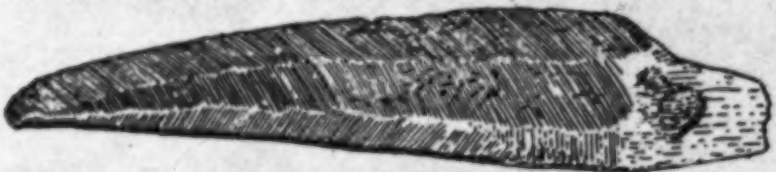

Figure 111. Copper knife-blade found on Victoria Island. IV.D.1817. Approx. 1/1.

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Figure 112. Knife blade of musk-ox horn. IV.D.1688. Approx. 2/3.

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Figure 119*d* shows a similar specimen with a heavy steel chisel for a blade. Here, both the upper and lower surfaces of the lashing have been protected with sealskin, and the antler handle has only one large hole.

Figure 119*a* has a steel blade (part of a file) driven into a head of musk-ox horn; the end was wrapped in sealskin to wedge it securely in the socket. Five holes are drilled in the horn head, two in the handle to receive the lashing, which, as always, is of sealskin.

Figure 119*c*, which also has a steel blade, is mounted in a bone head without wedging. The head is not drilled for the lashing, but has a wide groove that answers the same purpose. The antler handle has only one large hole.

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Mattocks. Mattocks or picks of heavy bone or antler, mounted on handles like adzes, occur only as relics of the earlier whale-hunting population. Numerous specimens were noted in the ruins at Cape Kellett, on Banks Island, and one of whale rib, much weathered, was found without its handle near Forsyth Bay on Victoria Island (Figure 120). The local natives guessed its purpose correctly, though they had never seen one in use. In pattern it is identical with the mattocks I dug up at Barter Island, in northern Alaska, and with specimens from the "Thule" culture remains in Hudson Bay region.

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Figure 120. Old mattock of whale rib, found on Victoria Island. IV.D.237. 1/3.

Figure 121. Mattock or pick of antler, IV.D.229. 1/4.

The typical mattock of the Copper Eskimo was simply an unmounted caribou antler with sharpened point, butt crudely shaped to give a grip, and, rarely, a projecting foot as on the handle of the man's knife (Figure 121). Any large antler, curved or straight, served the purpose, and some specimens were

especially the lower arm of the front notch, which carried the weight of the line; consequently, this notch was often built up by splicing a short projecting piece of wood to the under side of the rod. Sometimes a bone pin was inserted about the middle of the rod, on its upper surface, for shortening the line a little; for in shallow lakes the line was lowered until it touched the bottom, then raised a few inches with a turn around this pin, and fastened with a half hitch to the lower arm of the front notch.

The second type of fishing rod was simply a straight stick also notched at each end. Usually it was a little longer than the curved variety and was especially favoured for cod fishing, though no great distinction was made between the two kinds.

Both types of rod, with all their attachments, are shown in Figures 125 and 126.

Capt J. Bernard discovered an ancient rod of antler (Figure 127) in an old stone house on Bell Island, off the southwest coast of Victoria Island. It closely resembles Copper Eskimo specimens, though the house itself must date from the earlier Thule culture. I do not know the purpose of the holes drilled in each end.

The common line for these rods was a stout 3-ply cord, plaited from caribou leg sinew. It varied greatly in length, but generally ran from 35 to 60 feet. The upper end was fastened in different ways, sometimes with a few half hitches around the front of the rod, sometimes by a knot at the back end; the lower end was attached to the sinker, not to the hook, because the sinker and hook were riveted together.

For tomcod fishing in winter the western Copper Eskimo preferred a line of baleen to a sinew line, because the latter became encrusted with ice and was easily broken. These baleen lines, which could be quite short, were naturally commonest around Dolphin and Union Strait; natives farther east, who seldom or never saw a stranded whale, obtained them only by trade.

The sinkers were of bone, antler, or musk-ox horn, most often the first two. There were two types, one for use with a comparatively small hook when fishing in the lakes for trout and salmon, the other for use with a very much longer hook for catching cod.

The former type of sinker was usually from 1 to 2 inches long, oval in outline, flat on one face and rounded on the other. Most of them had two holes drilled through the upper end, one below the other. The end of the line then passed twice through both holes, forming a double-stranded noose, and was plaited back an inch or two from the sinker, where it was bound occasionally

Figure 123. Snow scooper. IV.D.1084. 1/4.

Figure 124. Snow scooper with unusual handle of musk-ox horn. IV.D.118. 1/6.

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Figure 127. Antler fishing rod, found in an old stone house on Victoria Island. IV. D. 1639. Approx. 1/2.

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Figure 128. Iron fish-hook set in bone. IV.D.1658. Slightly more than 1/1.

Figure 129. Copper fish-hook set in bone. IV.D.662. Slightly more than 1/1.

Figure 130. Bone lures used on lumped fish-line lines. IV.D.377. 1/1.

and a pointed bone or antler butt for planting the weapon upright in the snow. The butt was merely lashed to the end of the shaft with rawhide or sinew whipping; but the bone cap at the other end was riveted with bone or copper pins through two spurs that projected down the sides of the shaft, and the tapering end of the foreshaft was firmly wedged into its hollow by a packing of skin or fur. Through a hole drilled in the shaft just below the cap passed a sealskin thong that ran tautly one-third, one-half, or three-quarters the length of the shaft and was then knotted through another hole; it served, in conjunction with a piece of sinew attached to the hand line, to hold the harpoon head against the foreshaft. At the place where the sinew tucked under it, some hunters lashed the thong tightly against the shaft with a whipping of rawhide, or held it down with a copper "staple".

All the Copper Eskimo harpoon heads I have seen had blades separate from the head, although specimens of the old Thule culture, in this area as elsewhere, sometimes have the blade and head in one piece. The older Copper Eskimo harpoon heads were made of bone or antler, and the bone or copper blade, shaped exactly like an arrow point, was invariably set horizontally in the same plane as the line holes, and secured with a single rivet of bone or copper. The butt of the head was cut aslant, giving a single sharp spur, and a circular hole was drilled for the insertion of the foreshaft. Three of these old harpoon heads are illustrated in Figure 140.

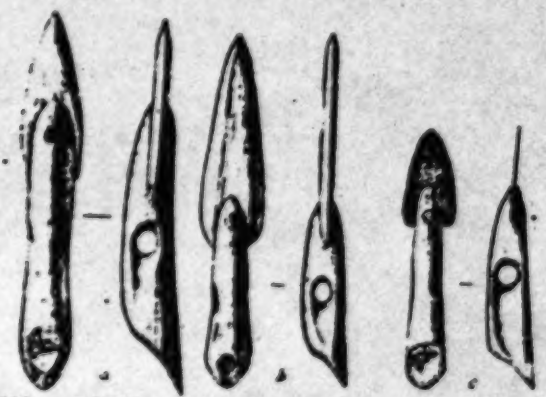

Figure 140. Old harpoon heads. *a*, *b*: bone blades; *c*: copper blade. IV.D.1438, 600, 1838. 1/2.

The introduction of iron did not change the type of the Copper Eskimo harpoon head, but only its material. At first only the blades were of iron; the heads proper continued to be made from bone and antler. By 1914, however, nearly all heads had come to be of iron, or occasionally of brass, and what seems to have been a new feature was introduced, a lengthening and bifurcation of the butt, resulting in two, stout, chisel-edged spurs, which were themselves often notched (Figure 141). This change we must probably ascribe to influences from Hudson Bay, where the spur of the ordinary sealing harpoon head has been bifurcated for several centuries. Among the Copper Eskimo every metal harpoon head that came under my notice possessed this feature, but not a single bone or antler one, except the specimen that will now be discussed.

Figure 142 shows a harpoon head without separate blade that was included in a large collection of specimens brought back by Mr. Stefansson and labelled Minto Inlet, Victoria Island. If it actually came from that district, it must

surely have been unearthed in some old ruin of pre-Copper Eskimo times, for it is identical with specimens that have been dug up in old dwellings in both Mackenzie Delta and northern Alaska. I rather suspect, however, that it came from one of these western areas, as did several other specimens in the collection that were certainly wrongly labelled.

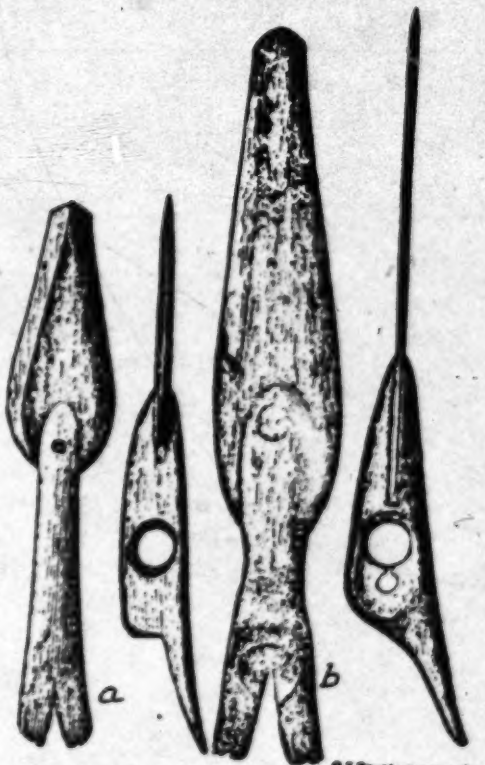

Figure 141. Modern harpoon heads with iron blades. *a*, IV.D.313, 1/1; *b*, IV.D.1054, 3/2.

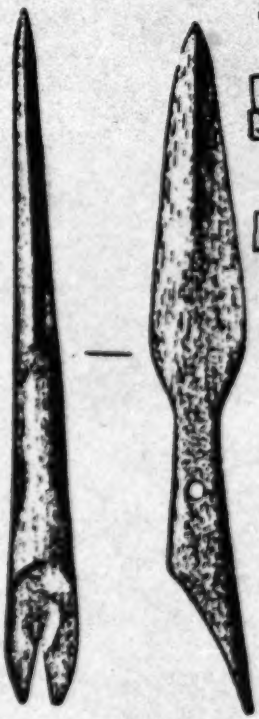

Figure 142. Bone harpoon head. IV.D.1334. 1/1.

The line attached to the head of the harpoon averaged in length a little over 2 metres and was made of plaited sinew, of sealskin, or of both combined, some hunters preferring sinew for the grip, but, for the toggle end, a sealskin thong less liable to fray. All lines were double from the toggle nearly to the grip; and to one or both strands, about 3 feet from the toggle end, was tied a short piece of sinew, which tucked under the thong running along the side of the shaft and held the lower part of the line taut until the seal was struck, when it immediately slipped out of place.

When the line was of plaited sinew it was graded from an 8- or 16-ply weave down to a 4 or 6 ply. At times this was accomplished by twisting some of the strands together, a 12-ply line, for example, being combined in twos to make one of 6 ply, and this perhaps again to 4 ply; the two ends could be

per, or iron. They claimed that their forefathers had never used points of stone and ascribed such specimens as they picked up in their country. (*See* Figure 155) to a still earlier people. Thus, it would seem that in the short space of 100 years stone points had passed out of both use and memory.

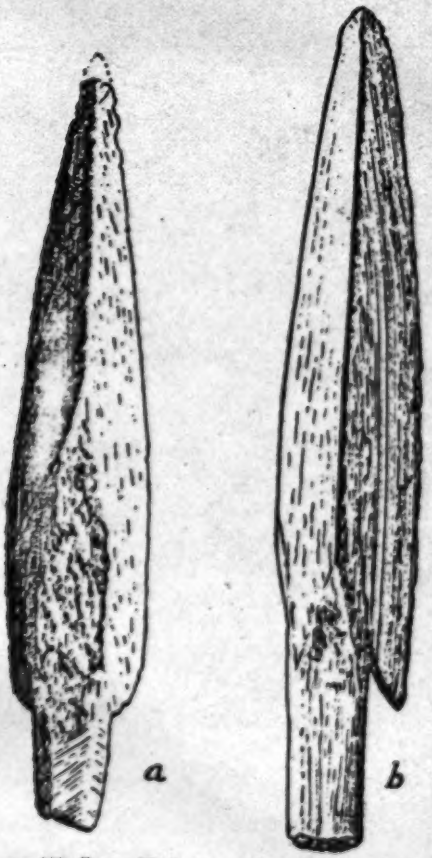

Figure 153. Two rubbed stone points picked up on the surface of the ground in Coronation Gulf. IV.D.607, 1627. 1/1.

Figure 126. Arrow head, with rubbed slate point, found on Victoria Island. IV.D.1819. Approx. 1/2.

In 1939, Mr. Lincoln Washburn presented to the National Museum of Canada two old slate-pointed arrow heads that had been picked up on Victoria Island.[1] The points were wedged without rivets into rather flat antler foreshafts, one being at right angles to the axis of the shaft, the other parallel with it. Each shaft bore a single barb and terminated in a sharp tang that seemed to lack knobs, but one shaft had been made from two pieces of antler deftly

[1] He added the information that near Holman Island, at the entrance to Prince Albert Sound, is an outcrop of a shale rock that the natives assert was once used for arrow points and knife blades.

411 scarfed and spliced together with three copper rivets (Figure 156). Both were
324 deeply encrusted with lichens, and were evidently of considerable antiquity.
321 Probably they were made by ancestors of the present-day Copper Eskimo. On
the other hand, it is not at all impossible that they are arrow heads of the
172 earlier "Thule"-culture inhabitants who have left other remains in the region.
The use of copper rivets does not rule out this possibility, because copper-bladed
women's knives with typical "Thule" handles have been recovered from an old
stone house on Victoria Island and from a stone grave on the neighbouring
Read Island, along with harpoon heads and other objects of typical Thule
[325] (North Alaskan) types. There are good grounds for believing, therefore, that
[174] the ancient Thule population itself used the local deposits of copper and passed
on its knowledge to the ancestors of the present-day Copper Eskimo when the
latter migrated into the area.[1]

411 In 1914 arrows with long antler points that fitted directly into the wooden
321 shafts were fairly common; some had no barbs, others one or more along one
325 side. Much more common, however, were arrows with separate blades of bone,
copper, or iron that riveted into antler foreshafts, or were provided with long
shanks that took the place of foreshafts. Points of bone were rare; about 65
per cent were of copper and the remainder of iron, hammered into the same
shapes as the copper ones. These shapes, and also the methods of splicing the
wooden shafts when made of two or more pieces, have been rather fully
illustrated by Stefansson.[2] Individuals may have preferred one type of point
to another for certain game, but so far as I could discover they used all types
more or less indiscriminately.

411 The Copper Eskimo used the Mediterranean release, holding the bow
237 almost horizontal. They generally feathered their arrows with goose, loon,
eider duck, or snowy owl quills, but did not disdain quills from other birds.
Normally two feathers only were used on each arrow, but occasionally three,
for no special reason that I could discover. The hunter cut off on his trimming
board all the barbs along one side of the feather, smoothed the rough quill with
his knife, grooved the arrow shaft with the special tool for that purpose (or, if
he lacked this tool, split it slightly with his knife), and lashed the two ends of
the feather in the grooves with caribou sinew. This was the usual way of
feathering. Occasionally, however, he merely trimmed the barbs a little on
both sides and fastened the feather flat against the shaft. There was also a
third method, in which two half feathers, i.e., feathers from which the barbs
on one side had been removed, were lashed around the end of the shaft spirally,
end to end, and the barbs spread fanwise. I saw a man feather an arrow for
his young stepson in this way and was told that it was a rare method, never
employed on arrows intended for serious use.

Bow-case, Quiver, and Tool Bag

411 The bow-case (Figure 157), which was made of sealskin to keep out water,
415 was shaped to the form of the weapon; one end was closed, the other left open
281 for some distance down its curved edge to permit the insertion of the bow. To
close the opening when the bow was in place there was a short cord of plaited
sinew whose loose end was tucked under the lashing, leaving the tip protruding so
that it could be unfastened at a single jerk. A quiver with or without a cap was
sewn or buttoned to the straight edge of the case; and a tool bag was also sewn
to the case in such a way that the quiver, when carried on the back, lay on top
of it and prevented its contents from falling out. Often, too, there was a sheath

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 128]

[1] Stefansson found a little copper in the old Thule site at Nauyan, on the west coast of Hudson Bay (Reports of the Fifth Thule Expedition, vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 14, 18 (Copenhagen, 1927)); and Graham Rowley discovered a small copper hook in a Dorset culture site near Iglulik, some 200 miles farther north. So far as we know today, this copper could have come only from the Coronation Gulf region.

[113] [2] Stefansson, V.: Anth. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., vol. XIV, Sec. 32-33 (1919).

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

pleasure jaunt at this season, and I could search the coast-line for the ruins of ancient habitations.

The journey, outward and return, lasted three weeks, for we travelled leisurely, enjoying to the full the clear atmosphere and bright, warm sunshine that had succeeded the winter blizzards and cold. Patches of bare ground here and there relieved the monotony of the white snow, the chirping of spring birds filled the air, and numerous seals basked on the surface of the ice outside their breathing-holes. We saw several tent-rings near the shore, and an arrow and other objects lying beside two human skulls, grim relics of a forgotten tragedy. But what intrigued us most was the discovery of three stumps, rotted almost to ground level, that indicated quite clearly the site of an exceedingly ancient house.

All the Eskimo tribes in the western Arctic, where the coast-line is littered with large spruce and cottonwood trees brought down by the Mackenzie and Yukon Rivers, dwell in houses built of wood. But driftwood is so scarce in the Coronation Gulf area that the natives often made long journeys overland to distant forests in the interior in order to obtain even the small amount of timber required for sleds and narrow tables. Their only fixed dwellings were the huts of snow with which we had become so familiar; houses built wholly or partly of wood were entirely outside their knowledge. Even their traditions failed to record such houses,

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

although they mentioned huts of stone, still standing in certain places, that a race of dwarfs had built in earlier days. Could it be that the natives had simply forgotten the customs of their forefathers, or was this wooden house in their country a relic of some ancient tribe that had either moved westward or become extinct?

Many small differences between the Eskimos here and their kinsmen in the Mackenzie River delta spoke in favour of the second theory. The Coronation Gulf people possessed no large open boats such as the western natives used for travelling along the coast, and they never employed the one-man canoes or kayaks for hunting seals. Their tools and weapons were much less varied, their clothing of different pattern, and their skill in carving greatly inferior. Altogether their culture seemed less developed than that of the western Eskimos, although the people themselves were not inferior in intelligence.

A year later Girling excavated a wooden house close to the ruin we had discovered on this journey. The objects he recovered from its floor, after removing the surface soil, were entirely strange to the local Eskimos, although familiar to some Alaskan natives, who had unearthed many similar specimens in their own country. Since then one discovery has succeeded another, so that today we know that the people among whom I wandered for two years had themselves moved into

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

172 Coronation Gulf but a few centuries before, and that their land was once peopled by other tribes of Eskimos who have passed mysteriously from the scene.

174 Whence came, then, the forefathers of all my Eskimo friends? That question, too, we can now answer with reasonable certainty. Eight or nine hundred years ago, when the Normans were gaining a foothold in England and hardy Icelandic seamen were foundling colonies in the newly discovered "Green Land," numerous tribes of Eskimos roamed the wide expanse of the so-called Barren Lands between Hudson Bay and those two immense expanses of fresh water, Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes. There they hunted caribou and musk-oxen, and in seasons of scarcity trapped and speared fish in the lakes and rivers; but seldom or never did they go down to the sea to hunt the great sea mammals, or to lay in stores of blubber to banish the cold from their huts. Something, then, set these tribes in motion—what, we do not know, unless it was the pressure of Indian tribes pushing up from the southward. The movement gathered force as it proceeded, like a boulder on a hill-side, and the tribes expanded in two directions. Some, going eastward, occupied the shores of Hudson Bay and Baffin Island, and sent a contingent into Greenland; others went northward to the Arctic coast, where another contingent turned west to Coronation Gulf. Gradually the impulse to movement died away; the